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DIALOGUE

BETWIXT

Whig and Tory,

Aliàs *Williamite* and *Jacobite*.

Wherein the PRINCIPLES and PRACTICES  
of each Party are fairly and impartially  
stated; that thereby Mistakes and Prejudices  
may be removed from amongst us, and all  
those who prefer English Liberty, and Pro-  
testant Religion, to French Slavery and  
Popery, may be inform'd how to choose fit  
and proper Instruments for our Preservation  
in these Times of Danger.

Printed in the Year 1693.



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Alias William and Jacob.

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# To the KING.

SIR,

**T**HO the Sacred Majesty of Kings (I am sensible) ought not in common Cases to be approach'd by every little Busy-body, or frivolous Remonstrance-maker; yet when our Prince's Palace is on Fire, and his Sacred Person in the midst of Flames, the meanest of his Subjects hath the Privilege then to give him warning of his Danger, and to assist to quench the Fire: And this I am afraid, Sir, is at present too near our Case, or I would not have assur'd the Boldness to disturb your Repose, or have plac'd my self so disadvantageously before your Majesty, as I must expect to appear, under the Character of a Publick Censor of the Manners of your Ministers, and a perry State-Reformer. But it is not I alone that am thus concern'd and busy for the Publick; the whole World are at this time mournfully reflecting upon the miserable Estate we are fallen into from that happy and glorious Prospect of things which we had in 1688 and 1689. This hath put all Men upon Enquiry into the Causes of the unhappy Change of our Affairs; and I find it agreed on all Hands, That the principal occasion of our Misfortunes (or rather Mismanagements) is from the intrusting those with the Government of all, who were the Creatures and Tools of the two last Reigns, and are irreconcilable Enemies to your Majesty's Government; those

who opposed your coming to the Crown; those who declar'd to your Face King *James* the only Rightful King; Those who sold their Country and betray'd it to the two last Kings, and will be always ready to sell it even to the French King, if he prove the fairest Chapman.

I have heard that *Tharloe*, who was Secretary of State to *Cromwel*, being ask'd by King *Charles II.* how they did support their Government so long, when all the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy were against it? he replied, *By intrusting those only in the Management of all Affairs, who were as heartily against that Nobility, Gentry and Clergy.* I do not apply this literally; for, God be prais'd, your Majesty hath a great part of all these several degrees of Men, who are most heartily and zealously in your Interests: But I mean by this, that you are to oppose your Enemies with their Enemies, not with their Friends. And that the Design of keeping out King *James* with Jacobites, seems to be as impracticable, as his Project prov'd of setting up Popery with a Protestant Army.

Yet there are some about your Majesty (who for base and private Ends) endeavour to possess you with the destructive Politicks of courting and buying your Enemies into your Service, and would perswade you, that King *James's Tories* are the only Party truly principled for Monarchy, and are fittest for Employment, as being long practis'd in Business: And that (on the contrary) your Majesty's best Friends, whom they call *Whigs*, are not only ignorant, and unacquainted with Publick Business, but are Haters of Monarchy, of Commonwealth Principles; and at best, for making their Kings no more than Dukes of *Devon*, and Kings of Clouts. Now this is a Notion so false, so fatal to the Prosperity of your Affairs, and so dangerous to the very Being of your Government, that I cannot but think it highly necessary, that this Matter should be fairly stated and laid before your Majesty: I am sensible  
how

how unfit I am for the Task, and how open I lie to a Charge of Presumption in attempting it. But as the Son of *Cyrus*, who was from his Birth dumb, broke Silence when he saw his Father in the Hands of his Murderers; so (since I saw no other Champion appear in this Cause) I resolv'd to break through all Impediments, even those of Nature, and to endeavour the Rescue of my King out of the Hands of those who have already been the Ruin of two Kings, your Majesty's Predecessors, and who will undoubtedly bring you and your Affairs into great Difficulties, if you be not delivered from their Counsels.

In order to this, I have impartially made a Collection (in the following Dialogue) of all the Arguments which *Whigs* employ against the *Tories*, or *Tories* against the *Whigs*, and submit it to your Majesty's discerning Judgment, and most piercing and distinguishing Wisdom, (upon the whole) which of them are most proper for your Majesty to employ; those who were in the Interests of *Papery* and of *France*; or those who oppos'd both to the Death. I appeal to you, Sir, whether a *Tory's* being, for the Divine Right of Succession, and consequently for King *James's* Monarchy, makes him the fitter in Principle to be employ'd by King *William*? Or, whether his boasted Skill in Business will be of any use to your Majesty, if he be in Principle and Inclination for *K. James*, and believes *K. William* a King *de facto* only, without a Rightful Title, and in plain English, an Usurper? If these Gentlemen (as their Principles will naturally lead them to do) use all their Skill in their several Stations, to obstruct and make difficult your Affairs, to betray your Designs to your Enemies, to countenance and protect *K. James's* Friends in all their Plots and Contrivances, furnish them with Intelligence, help them to Passes, Escapes, &c. all which things (it cannot be denied) have been and are daily done by some Persons employ'd in this Government: Of what Use, Sir, or Service then is this

boasted Skill in Business to your Majesty's Interests? Certainly Men less conversant in Publick Affairs, who have a Zeal for your Government, would be of more Use and Service to you; Men who were persecuted by K. C. and K. J. either in their own Persons, or in the Persons of their Friends, who were fin'd, imprison'd, and some of their Relations hang'd in those Reigns, are more likely to act in earnest against K. J. and in the supporting your Majesty and your Government, than those who had their Fortunes and their Families rais'd by K. J. and his Brother K. C. and who hope to be rais'd yet more by his Return, or at least, to secure in his Government what they have got in this, by obliging him and his Friends, at the Price of sacrificing you and yours.

For Example: Is it reasonable to believe the E. of N. whose Father and Family was rais'd by K. C. and K. J. for prostituting the Law (and his nauseous Rhetorick) to the Designs of those two Brothers, who himself was a Privy-Counsellor with Father *Peters*, and chosen by K. J. at the time of the Revolution to treat with your Majesty at *Hungerford*, in order to delay your Progress to *London*; and lastly, who so violently oppos'd your Majesty's being crown'd King, as to lay an eternal Obligation on K. J. by it: I say, Sir, is it reasonable to believe this Gentleman so proper a Secretary of State to your Majesty, as the E. of S. who hath so mortally disoblige'd K. J. by being so early, and so zealous in your Interests, who went at the Head of that Message to K. J. wherein he was required to retire from *Whitchall*; who hath since that been so instrumental to place and preserve the Crown upon your Head; and hath, in a word, broken all Measures so with K. J. as to leave no Possibility of a Reconciliation to him, and consequently hath no Retreat from this Government, but is oblig'd in common Sense, to serve Your Majesty faithfully and zealously?

Or



Or can your Majesty think Mr. K. who (it is generally said) believes himself the Son of K. J. and it is known by all the World, owes his Fortune to him; who (if we may believe Report) at the time of the Revolution, agreed with Captain Toffey, to carry the Ships he then commanded in the *Straits* to K. James in France, (had not the common Sailors very rudely oppos'd the Project;) who after this acquitted himself so ill at *Cherbourg*, in letting the *Thouzon* Squadron pass by him in his sight, without fighting them; and to conclude, hath made so unaccountable a Campaigne of it this Summer; can your Majesty (give me leave to say, Sir) think this Gentleman (after all this) fitter to command the Fleet of *England*, than Mr. R. whose Provocations to K. J. are never to be forgiven by him; who was one of the most instrumental Men in *England* in placing You upon the Throne; who last Year gave you the greatest and most glorious Victory that ever was obtain'd by us at Sea; and whose Courage, Conduct and Fidelity the Parliament of *England* hath unanimously attested?

And now, Sir, (if I may presume so far) will Your Majesty be pleas'd to examine what Honour, what Profit hath accrued to You, or the Nation, by your employing these Gentlemen who have of late been at the Head of the Ministry. For God's sake, Sir, cast up the Account of the last four Years Management, and see what You have gain'd by changing *Whigs* for *Tories*; Have not Your Affairs gone backward both at Home and Abroad? Have not Mismanagements been multiply'd? Have You not cool'd Your Friends, and yet not gain'd your Enemies? Do not almost all the *Tories* You employ drink K. James's Health in Your Wine, and serve Him in Your Offices? Do they not obstruct all Business which ought to be dispatch'd, and dispatch all Business which ought to be obstructed? browbeat Your Friends, and delay them in their most

just



just Pretences, but comply with your Enemies in their most unreasonable Demands; nay, connive at their Cabals and Conspiracies, and snatch them out of the Hands of Justice, when the Law hath pass'd Sentence of Death upon them for their Treasons? Would not such Ministers and Friends as these be less dangerous to You, when profess'd Enemies, nay in Arms against You in the Field, than in your Council, Cabinet and Offices? Undoubtedly they would.

But I know the common Answer to all these kind of Complaints is, That it is more easy to find Faults, than Remedies. If You please therefore, Sir, we will consider of Remedies, and I think there may be some found out both easy and certain, and they are these: First, Sir, be pleased to remove from your Person, Council and Offices of Trust, Men bred up and confirm'd in Principles destructive to our English Government, and hateful to Your People; and to discountenance all State-Projectors, and Mountebank-Ministers, who make Wounds in the State to recommend their Balsam: Throw out, Sir, these *Achans* to be ston'd by the People, who will otherwise (I fear) prevent God's Favour to You; who blast Your Success Abroad, and rob You of the Affections of Your Subjects at Home, with their *Accus'd Thing*, I mean that Tinsel Power with which these Miscreants dazzle the Eyes of Princes, and lead them out of the right way; God is displeased with it: For uncontrollable and unaccountable Power is the Right and Attribute of God alone; and (as the Scripture tells us) *He will not give his Glory unto another*; nor suffer those to act as Gods, who are to die like Men. Your People also will be displeased with a Despotick Power; for the Kings of England are bound by Laws, by Mutual Compacts, &c. (as You your Self, Sir, have set forth most unanswerably in your Declaration when You came over;) and if these are broken, English-Men, who believe themselves Subjects to the Crown of England,

*England*, (as by Law establish'd) and not  
 Slaves to any particular Person\*; they  
 become impatient, angry, and at length  
 perhaps unreasonable. And whenever  
 they see their King beset with Ministers  
 of Lawless Principles, (those wholesale Merchants of Ar-  
 bitrary Power) they grow mistrustful and uneasy, and are  
 apt in such Cases to shut their Purses, and open their  
 Mouths. And give me leave to say, Sir, had not the Peo-  
 ple been made apprehensive and jealous, by seeing these  
 Men in the Ministry, whose mischievous Methods they  
 were so well acquainted with, and did so much abhor;  
 no general Excise, no Loans, no Powers would have been  
 thought by the People of *England*, too much to have in-  
 trusted You with; so highly they esteem'd your Generous  
 Relief of them, your unequal Courage, and the many  
 other admirable Vertues they saw shine in You. An English  
 King is the greatest Monarch upon Earth, when he reigns  
 in the Hearts of his Subjects; and all other Methods to  
 Power and Greatness have been found ineffectual in *England*.  
 I remember I once saw written over a Merchant's Shop,  
 Keep thy Shop, and thy Shop will keep thee: and tho it  
 be a homely Allusion, it is very applicable to the present  
 Point; *Keep your Laws, Sir, and your Laws will keep You*;  
 support your People in their Rights and Liberties, and  
 Queen Elizabeth shall pass her Royal Word for them, they  
 will support Your just Prerogative at Home, and Your  
 Honour Abroad. And, Sir, by the way, do not let Your  
 Flatterers give You a cheap Opinion of a Power deriv'd  
 from the People; for it is undoubtedly from their Consent,  
 that all Power must come: Nor let them make You uneasy  
 that Your Title to the Crown is from the universal free  
 Choice of the Commons of *England*. Believe me, Your  
 Ministers, nor the two Learned Bishops who have scribbled  
 upon this Subject, will never be able to find You a better.

\* Otherwise it  
 would have a false  
 Presence, than I hope  
 we shall ever allow  
 him.

In the next place, Discharge all *Jacobites* and *Trimmers* from Offices of Trust: For such as either desire K. *James*, or from their Fear, or Wisdom, endeavour to deserve from him (so much as their Pardon) I humbly conceive are unfit for Your Service at this Juncture; tho when the Government is more settled, I am for entertaining all who give Proofs of their Penitence for their past Actions and Opinions.

But, Sir, Purgatives will not alone perfect the Cure of your Government, and restore it to perfect Health; You must make use of Alteratives too, there must be a Change of Measures, as well as a Discharge of Men: And the Method I would humbly offer is this.

First: To make the Interest of *England* your chief Design and Aim; and since You are an *English* King, to become entirely an *English* Man. *England* is a Nation jealous of Rivals in her Prince's Favour, and thinks her self deserving of all his Care, and all his Caresses: If the People of *England* think You have a favourable Opinion of them, they will endeavour to deserve it; if not, they may perhaps deserve your worst Opinion too. This Humour of the Nation Queen *Elizabeth* found early, and apply'd her self so happily to it, as by this single Point to master all her Difficulties, (the greatest it may be, that ever Prince had to struggle with); whereas her Successors, by contrary Measures, brought themselves into very unfortunate Circumstances.

In the next place, Sir, let me desire You to avoid concerning your self in Elections of Members in Parliament, or influencing them when chosen: the Parliament is a sacred part of the *English* Constitution, and, like the *Israelites* Ark of old, is not to be touch'd profanely, but with great Danger to those who touch it so. And therefore, Sir, it will be your true Interest to leave the People free to their Choice, and to leave the Members free to their Opinions.

when they are chosen. It is still fresh in our Memories, how much the Practices of the late Reigns in corrupting Elections, and Cloſeting the Members of Parliament, enrag'd the Nation, and they had reason to reſent it; for if (for the ſake of a Vote) a Member of Parliament ſhall be placed in an Office of Truſt he is not fit for, this is deſtroying the Government two ways at once: For, to ſpeak in the Phraſe of the Miniſtry, it is making a Parliament of Clouts, and an Officer of Clouts at the ſame ſtroke. Rejeſting Bills offer'd by Parliament of publick Benefit, and for the ſecuring of our Antient Government, and the Fundamental Rights of the Subject, was highly diſpleaſing to the Nation alſo in the late Reigns, and will be ſo in all Reigns: As was likewiſe the denying the People their undoubted Right of frequent Parliaments. They had alſo in the late Governments an Invention to make a Pump of the Parliament, and by pouring in a Pint of Water, to fetch out a Tun: This was juſtly moſt provoking to the Nation, and treaſur'd up Wrath againſt the Day of Wrath.

The reſuſing of Bills, and the Contempt of Addreſſes from the Parliament againſt Miniſters, or in any other caſes, hath likewiſe given great Offence in former Reigns. For tho' the Houſe of Commons, ſeconded by the Houſe of Lords, cannot reach the Life or Eſtate of any Perſon, but by a full Proof in form of Law; yet becauſe it is ſo difficult a matter to come at ſuch a Proof, a Vote of the Houſe of Commons againſt any Miniſter, hath always been eſteem'd by all Kings (who were well with the People) a ſufficient Reaſon for the removing them from Court; and I have heard that our King Henry the Fourth (a Warlike and a Wiſe Prince) upon an Addreſs from the Parliament againſt ſome of his Miniſters, reply'd, *I know no Evil by theſe Men, but if they are thought unfit by my Parliament for my Service, I ſhall not think fit to continue them in it.*

All theſe things, Sir, therefore are moſt carefully to be



avoided by your Majesty : They will appear with a worse Grace in You, who have declar'd and made War against these Practices, than in your Predecessors : For as St. Paul says, *Thou who hast said, Ye shall not commit Adultery, dost thou commit Adultery? Thou who hast said, Ye shall not steal, dost thou steal?* You must by no means, Sir, give this occasion of Clamour and Recrimination to your Enemies. But be pleas'd to follow this General Rule, always to be-ware of the Ministers, and to avoid the Schemes and Counsels of K. Charles and K. James's Government, and then You can scarce err : For whatever is opposite to their Principles and Practices, is the direct Road to your Security and Success.

In the next place, Sir, let Rewards and Punishments be duly and impartially distributed ; this is a Rule to which all Ages and Governments have paid the greatest Respect and Observance ; and to which the present Monarch of France does chiefly owe the Prosperity of his Affairs ; and without this Principle no Government can subsist. Your Ministers who serve You well and faithfully, must be distinguish'd from those who betray You, or serve You carelessly and idely ; and not smil'd or frown'd upon as they are supported or persecuted by this or that Party or Faction. (And by the way, Sir, a Prince in England that rules according to the Laws and Interests of his People, will never have occasion to make his Court to any Party or Faction ; nor can any Minister of any Party serve You against the Interest of the Nation.) Let your Souldiers be encourag'd, and preferr'd according to their Bravery and Abilities, without Favour or Affection : The Bravest otherwise will follow the Example of Cowards, if they find they have no Advantage over them by their Courage : For *all Men would be Cowards if they durst.* To an English Souldier a Smile or a kind Word, is as acceptable at some times as a Month's Pay ; and if you will condescend to a Commendation of

what



what they do well, they will endeavour in the next occasion to exceed what they did before : For if You are once Master of their Love, You are sure to have the Disposal of their Lives. Nor need You fear to punish them severely, provided You reward them bountifully. Let the Insolence of your Enemies be rebuk'd, and Rebels and Traitors to your Government be severely punish'd, and not courted and caress'd ; for in the present State of Affairs all Mercy to your Enemies is Cruelty to your Self and Friends : and it encourages your Enemies, and disheartens your Loyal Subjects, to see these Insolents brave the Government unpunish'd, and to see your treacherous Ministers soliciting the Pardon of every condemn'd Traitor ; and making their Court to K. J. at the Price of your Safety, is most provoking to every good Man. Besides, it looks like your having a Doubt of your own Right and Title to the Government, to be thus backward in asserting it ; and is so interpreted by the *Jacobites*.

Intelligence is another Point of mighty Consequence, and can scarce be purchas'd too dear : For it is the Soul of Government, and directs all its Actions properly, and without it You consult in the dark, and execute blindfold ; You know not what to act, what to fear, where to attack, or where to defend : I do not mean by this that we are to penetrate into the *French* King's Counsels, or rifle his Cabinet, that I am afraid is out of the reach of our Power, and of our Purse ; But I cannot but think we may be able to know the Marches of their Armies, and the Motions of their Fleets, without selling our Souls to the Devil for Intelligence, or breaking our Exchequer.

Thus, Sir, I have set before Your Majesty, what, in my poor Judgment, is for your Interest to pursue, and what is for your Service to avoid ; what will make your Majesty and this Nation happy, what will make both unhappy : and I heartily pray the Great, Good and Wise God, to direct, bless  
and

and prosper your Majesty in all your Glorious Desires for the Defence of these Kingdoms, and of *Christendom* against the common Enemy. If I have us'd too great a Freedom, or have offended in what I design'd for your Service, I am sorry for it: I call God to witness, my Plainness proceeded from my Zeal and Affection to your Interests, and the Prosperity of your Affairs, and not from any factious, sycophant, or unmannerly Principle. I with some abler Pen had taken upon them this Part. But I must own, it provok'd me to see my Country and my King so forsaken; the one of Advocates, the other of honest Counsel; and this urg'd me to take upon me those two Characters, of Advocate and Adviser, both which I confess my self very unfit for: Not that as I said in the beginning, I take it to be the Privilege, nay and the Duty too of every English Subject, (provided it be perform'd with a decent and due Respect) to lay before the King such Matters as may be dangerous to his Person or Government, to be conceal'd from his Knowledge: (for we are not ty'd up in *England* to *Spanish* Forms, where the King must be wret to the Skin, if he whose proper Office it is be not in the way to put on his Cloak.) And I beg your Majesty to believe what I have said is from a Faithfulness and Sincerity, which will in all Accidents and Difficulties preserve me unalterably.

Your Majesty's most Loyal, most  
Dutiful, and most Obedient Subject.

To

To the Honest English Protestant

## R E A D E R

Honest Reader,

**A**T the beginning of the late Revolution, I dare say, it was not expected by thee or me, That it would have been necessary in this Reign, to have enter'd into Argument, whether the Principles of Whig or Tory are most agreeable to the Constitution of the English Monarchy; or which Party were to be chosen for the Support of our present King and Queen. But such is our Fate, that I am afraid it requires an abler Pen than mine to convince some, who it is highly necessary should be convinc'd, that any of the Measures of the late Reigns were mistaken: they are taught to believe those Monarchs in the Right; nay even those evil Counsellors too, which were so much the Declaration of 88; and none are Rogues and Killars, and deserve to be hang'd, but those who were most active in the bringing the present King and Queen over, and in setting the Crown upon their Heads. I thought it therefore high time that this Matter should be set right; and in order to it, that the Principles and Practices of Whig and Tory should be truly and impartially examin'd; which I have endeavour'd to do to the best of my Knowledge, and shall be well pleas'd to see any other do it better from my poor Hint. I acknowledge the Looseness of the Style, the want of Method in the following Paper, and the many Repetitions; this Dialogue way of writing is liable to, will lay it open to the Laish of every Pedant, and School-master: But know, I write not for Fame, or out of any Vanity of being an Author: And therefore I come not to you, as the

Apostle

## To the Reader.

*Apostle says, in the enticing words of Man's Wildom, but in Plainness and in Truth, &c. I have stated the Matter so fairly, that some of the Tories may be Fools enough perhaps to think I have given them a Victory, (and triumph as their Admirals did in their being gazetted, because the Council was so favourable, as to suffer them to pass for mistaken Block-heads, instead of wilful knavish Liars.) But indeed I thought the Tories had so weak a Plea, that I might well allow them to make the most of it, and have left nothing unsaid which I have ever heard them say in their Defence. What they have done the honest People, and the Interest of England most Mischief by, is that Sham of a Commonwealth, which I have in the following Discourse (I hope) convinc'd all honest Men is a false Notion, impracticable and impossible in England; however this is the Breast-work which they have always cover'd themselves with, when they designed to fire upon the Rights and Privileges, the Laws, Liberties and Properties of their Country: And whenever they do raise this Breast-work, we must endeavour to beat it about their Ears; I am sure it is too weak to resist any Attack, and I hope (as Bays say) They fly, They fly, They fly, who first did make that Lie. What I have here written, is with an honest Design of doing Service to my Country; and if it either happens to inform or convince any, to advance the Publick Interest, and the common Good of themselves and Fellow-Creatures, I have my end. And for the Tory Criticks, they may bite till their Teeth meet through my Book, yet I shall be as insensible of their Malice, as they have been of the King's Mercy, Favour and Friendship to them. I will comfort my self, honest Reader, that I have thee on my side; and so long as thou dost continue firm in the supporting the English Laws and Liberties, thou dost build upon a Rock, against which, I hope, the Gates of Hell shall not prevail; and so long I will build upon thee, and hope for all Good from thee, and pray for all Blessings upon thee. Adieu.*



A DIALOGUE *between*

## Whig and Tory, &amp;c.

**W**ELL met old Acquaintance; Who would have thought seven Years ago, to have seen you and I at *White-hall* together in the same Interest?

**Whig.** In the same Interest! Why, who thinks that now?

**Tory.** What, in one of your old peevish Fits? I thought now all things go to your Mind; you would have been in better Humour.

**Whig.** You were begotten, born and bred in Mistakes; and I doubt not but you will continue so to your end: yet you cannot be so grossly mistaken sure as to think all things go to any honest Englishman's Mind; when you, who were the Tools of the two last Reigns, the Instruments of all our past and present Misfortunes, and the declar'd Cause of the War which brought on the late Revolution, are notwithstanding the only Men courted by this Government.

**Tory.** I am afraid you will never be pleased with any Monarchical Government.

**Whig.** That is a Point I know you have been long endeavouring to put upon the World, but more industriously upon the Court; yet I wonder at your Impudence of urging it now, since it is so fresh in every Man's Memory, how zealously the *Whigs* struggled in the late Convention to settle the Monarchy, whilst you contested as zealously to make it an Anarchy.

**Tory.** We will talk more of this by and by: But if you were so instrumental as you say in setting up this Government, why are you so out of Humour with what you have made your selves?

**Whig.** Disappointment you must allow a just Cause of Resentment: We hop'd from new Lords new Laws; new Ministers,



and new Methods: But if still we are to have the same Ministers, and consequently the same Methods, the very Tools of the two last Reigns, and consequently the same Work; this I take (in my Lord *H — s* Phrase) to be a Change, without an Alteration; and, in my Opinion, gives too just occasion of Dislike: and I cannot but think this way of managing Affairs, must end unhappily, both to Prince and People.

*Tory.* But how come you and I to be so concern'd either for the Prosperity of Princes, who never think of us, but as we can serve some present Turn of theirs; or for the Interest of *Mob*, who will sing Ballads upon us under the Gallows, when we are hanging there for their sakes? Brother *Whig*, glow-worm, and do not torment thy self thus with State Affairs. Let Princes take Care of themselves, and the People of themselves, and let us take Care of our selves. My Method is, to get what I can, and let Courts do what they will.

*Whig.* Why then, Sir, with your good leave, your Method is as foolish, as it is knavish: For whoever sells his Country to a lawless Power, leaves himself nor his Family no Certainty, no Property in what he hath gotten by his Treachery; nay, his Estate is as often the Spare, as the Comfort of his Life. It proves sometimes a *Naboth's Vineyard*, and makes him the Eye-sore of some hungry Court-Favourite. And I would ask, Whether a small Estate secur'd about with Laws, and the Possession thereof secur'd to you and your Family, is not of more Value, than a much greater Revenue, of which you cannot assure your self the Possession one Minute? Your Fore-Fathers thought the Laws and Liberties of *England* worth their Care and Contest, and waded through Rivers of Blood to leave them in force to their Posterity. And the Church once made it an Article of their Religion, *Nobis Leges Anglie mutari*: so But thou dost renounce all the Principles of Humanity, of common Sense, and of Religion; and oughtest to be driven out of a Country which thou makest open Profession to sell, and betray. And as for what you say of the Ingratitude of Princes, and People, the one to his faithful and affectionate Subjects, the other to their zealous Patriots; this does not discharge you from your Duty to either. But (in Answer to the first) if you will serve Princes no farther than you serve your Country in serving them; that Service will always reward it self: and for the *Mob*, as you are ever pleas'd

most

most mannerly to call your Country-men; and Fellow-Citizens; if any prove so forthid as you alledge, I shall answer you in the Words of our Saviour, *Pardone them, for they know not what they do.* And let his Example teach you better Principles, who, notwithstanding all the Scoffs and Indignities he met with, laid down his Life upon the Cross for the Benefit of Mankind. But your Principles make you the Triumph of Heathens, and bring you upon the same foot with Brute Beasts.

*Tory.* Come, don't tell us Stories of our great Grandfires, who troubled themselves about Trifles: There is a Fashion in Government (as well as in Clothes) which must be comply'd with, according to the Humour of the present Age; and you may as well pretend to shape all Gowns by *Queen Elizabeth's Fardingale*, as to shape our Court, or Counsels according to the Sentiments of that, or other Times, which were as different too from one another, as we are different from them.

*Whig.* As for your Fashion of Government, Mr. *Tory*, I hope it is either gone to the Grave with *K. C.* or to *France* with *K. J.* and could heartily wish you would follow it to either places: But pray before you go, let me ask you in what Age and Time it was, That Men of Sense, or Men of Honour, did prefer Will and Pleasure to Laws, or Slavery to Freedom? As I take it, the Principles of Liberty and Property, have always been in Fashion amongst Men of Sense, and Estates in *England*, and ever will be. But your Principles can never find Professors, but amongst Fools and Beggars.

*Tory.* Whatever our Principles are, you find both them and us prefer'd to you and yours, even by a Government of your own choosing: And let that satisfy you as an Answer to that Point.

*Whig.* Not at all; that only proves a Mistake some where: And where the Mistake is, if you please, we will enquire; and I think it will best appear by examining the original Rise, Principles and Practices of both Parties.

*Tory.* Come on then, a clear Stage, and no Favour.

*Whig.* As for your original Rise, 'tis certain, you owe your being known in the World, to the horrid and execrable Designs of the two late Kings to set up Arbitrary Power and Popery amongst us: then were all the Jails, Brothels, and Kennels raked for Villains of fear'd Consciences and desperate Fortunes; your

*Ar*—*ns*, *Clif*—*ds*, *Of*—*s*, were then thought upon for Ministers of State; and under them were bred such a pack of Wretches, as the Court of *Tiberius* would have been ashamed of. In the Law they were of the same sort with the Ministry; What Age can parallel your *N*—*ms*, your *N*—*ths*, your *Jeff*—*ys*, *Sc*—*gs*, *Rain*—*ds*, *Wri*—*s*, &c. and their under Managers *Gra*—*m* and *Burt*—*n*? &c. Then as to the Pillars of what they then called the Church of England, tho' so disguised at that time, that it was scarce known by its most dutiful, most affectionate, and most pious Children; I need say no more of them, than that they were composed of Bishops, and a Clergy prefer'd by two Kings, who were about to set up *Popery* and *Tyranny*: And therefore were to choose such Men into the Government of the Church, who they thought would be most complying with those Purposes, and whose Looseness of Morals might bring most Discredit upon the Protestant Religion: and whoever remembers *Park*—*r*, *Cart*—*t*, or knows *Cr*—*w*, and *Wat*—*n*, will (I think) be of the Opinion they were not ill chosen for the abovesaid Purposes.

*Tory*. But you see whatever Purposes they were chosen for, several of the Bishops opposed *Popery* with the greatest Bravery imaginable.

*Whig*. True, they did oppose a Popish Clergy being brought into their Bishopricks, Churches and Colleges; and who but a mad Man would have expected any other from them? But did they ever stick at any thing that might advance Arbitrary Power over the Laity? Did they not conjure the People to Passive Obedience, Non-resistance? &c. Did they not tie us Hand and Foot, and throw us like *Daniel* into the Lions Den? Nay, did they ever stick at building his Popish Church for him, whilst he contented himself to make use of their Hands? But when they saw that after they had gone so far in the Service, others were taken in to finish the Work, and to reap the Fruit of what they had sow'd and planted: This was indeed intolerable, and then it was, and not before, that they began to make a Noise about the Protestant Religion, and English Liberties, and to preach backward all their former Sermons.

*Tory*. But you cannot deny but that they were very instrumental to the Revolution.

*Whig*.

*Whig.* I own they were for some time, like Fishes who have got a Worm in their Heads, they did frisk and leap out of their own Element; but like them too, they soon plung'd into it again: for K. J. was scarce got to *Faversham*, before they repented what they had done, and from that day to this have given all the Proofs and Marks of an invincible Hatred and Enmity to the present Government: They oppos'd the King's coming to the Crown, fell into Cabals for the weakning his Government when he was King, and rais'd Rebellion without, and Plots within the Kingdom for the restoring of K. J. &c. Nay, at this time it is undeniable, that when ever the Clergy are most numerous, the Jacobites are most numerous too; there are more Jacobites ten for one in every Cathedral Town, than in any other Towns, accounting number for number: And how the Universities are generally disaffected to this Government, is notorious; they reproach and rail against the very Bishops and Clergy-men prefer'd in this Reign. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* himself, whose Learning, Piety, and Excellencies of all kinds, are so eminent, that it seems impolitick in them, as well as unjust to reproach him, yet him too do they rail, scoff at, and treat with the foulest Invektives. In short, those who every day piously attend the Service and Religious Worship of the Church, who most frequently are Communicants in the holy Sacrament, these they will notwithstanding call *Presbyterians*, *canting*, *whining Hypocrites*, &c. and esteem none sound Members of their Body: but those who drink with them, and come up to all their highest Points of Dominion, Tyranny, and Uncharitableness to all those who are not of their Faction: I will not call it their Church, because I think it a Dishonour to the best Reform'd Church in the World, to be served by such a Clergy as are not only a Scandal to the Name of *Protestant*, but to the Name of *Religion*; and who, under the Title of *Protestant Priests*, are labouring with all their Power the Return of K. James, with his *Popery* and *Slavery*, and preach and pray openly for his Restoration; whilst no Exhortation for Obedience to our present King, our great Deliverer from *Popery* and *Slavery*, is heard from any Pulpit, no *Passive Obedience* nor *Non-resistance* is named in this Reign: And if for the sake of their Livings they are forced to pray for the King and Queen, it is in so faint and low a Voice, as if they had no minds to be heard either by God or the People.

*Tory.*



*Tory.* Some few discontented Persons there may be perhaps, who may deserve this Character, but I hope you do not lay this Charge upon the whole Clergy of *England*.

*Whig.* No, I know there are many religious, learned and good Men amongst them; and there will I hope be more if this Government continues: But that the Number is not small who have refus'd the Oaths to this present Government, you cannot deny; and that most of the *high Church*, as they call themselves, those who (as a Learned Doctor said) have the *Spirit of the Church* in which they were bred, tho they will not say with *St. Paul*, they have the *Spirit of God* \*.

\* The first Instance I have met of their Modesty.

I say, profess to take the Oath of Allegiance to this King, as he is King *de facto*, not *de jure*. And by the Example of these Reverend Clergy-men, the Lay Knaves and Fools are directed to take Oaths with Mental Reservations, and private Interpretations and Distinctions. And having no Principle, but that of Self-Interest, in which case you ever renounce all Justice, all Humanity to your Fellow-Creatures; you profess Slavery to some, that you may Lord it over others; yea renounce and trample upon all Laws to serve a Turn, make a Jest of Liberty and Property: And to gratify your Pride or Avarice, you have betray'd your Country, persecuted and murdered your innocent Country-men and Fellow-Citizens, sold your Neighbours to the French King, and your Laws and Religion to the late Kings; and even from the same Principles have been endeavouring to bring about the same Practices in this Reign too; and in order to it, have been tempting your Lord and Master, in the Language of the Devil to our Saviour, *All this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me*; and I hope he will answer you in his Words upon that occasion, *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy King*. Thus have I given you in few Lines an account of the Rise, Principles and Practices of your Party, with which I could fill up a Volume: But I consider the Nation needs only a general Hint to refresh their Memory to Particulars. For the Smart of the Wounds received in the late Reigns from you, is yet most sensible to many honest English-men.

*Tory.* If this Devil of a *Tory* be so black as you paint him, I wonder how he comes by so fair a Character, and so numerous a Party in the Nation, and so great a Countenance from all Courts of contrary Interests.

*Whig.*



Wise Fair Appearances, and great Numbers prove nothing: the lowliest Strumpets are often fair, and Fools and Knaves have in all Ages out-numbered the Wise and Honest. How ye Tories came to have so great a Countenance from the last Court, I have already shew'd, and will (since you command me) shew you how ye became the Favourites of this Court too, even by the same Means, and the same Men, that made you Favourites in King Charles's Time. For the M. of C. after all his mischievous Management of Affairs in that Reign, having by an ill Fate to this poor Nation, got into some small pretence of Merit, by little Assurances he gave to the late Revolution; upon this he sets up again for Ministry. But being apprehensive that those honest Gentlemen, who had so bravely exposed their Lives and Fortunes for the Redemption of their Country, and were so well acquainted with his Methods in the late Reigns, would be jealous of his having too great a Credit with the King, he thought it his best play to begin with them; and from his first Coming to Court, labour'd to insinuate Jealousies into the King of those Gentlemen as *Commonwealths-men, Plots of Monarchy, &c.* and having likewise an implacable Pique to Parliaments, for their Impeachment and Imprisonment of him, he at the same time represents that part of the Government envious of the King's Power, and always endeavouring to make him a King of Clouts, a Duke of *Exeter, &c.* Thus by misrepresenting the King's best Friends, he made way to bring in his old Practices, and his old working Tools (whom he represented to be Men of Business, and Friends to Monarchy) into this Court too; and being assisted afterwards by the E. of N. and some others, ye have indeed carried all before you; and how much to the Interest of the Nation, and the Honour of the King, let all the World judg, who have seen this poor Kingdom every Year for this last four Years brought to a reasonable Apprehension of being invaded from Abroad, betray'd at Home; and in a word, to subsist only by a Miracle.

Tory. All this rambling Story you have told is a wild Supposition, and straining the Intention of this noble Lord to your own malicious Purpose; who design'd nothing more in bringing in these Gentlemen you call the King's Enemies, than by reconciling them to the King and his Government, to make the Foundation of it broader and deeper: And I know not how this comes to be such a Crime, and so ill Policy with us. I have heard, that

Happy

*Henry the Fourth of France*, who was esteem'd a wife and Politick Prince, thought it very good King-Craft, to cherish his Enemies of the League, and to make his Court to the Jesuits.

*Whig.* And pray, what did he get by it? Did he ever gain either of them heartily into his Interest? Were not those of the League ever ready to plot with the *Spaniard*, &c. against him? And for his dear Friends of the Church, not all his Renunciation of his old Religion, and his old Friends; not all his Gifts, his Careless, and his Courtship could reconcile them to him, or so much as save his Life, when they had it in their Power to destroy it. For those jealous Gentlemen, the *Jesuits*, never would believe they had his Heart, till it was sent them in a Box to *Le Fleche*, to be buried there.

*Tory.* But notwithstanding your *Jesuits Tale of a Tub*, I will undertake that all the *Tories* (as you call them) in *England*, both Clergy and Lay-men, shall take the Oaths to the King, and serve him heartily, provided he will do one thing.

*Whig.* What's that?

*Tory.* Utterly discard you *Whigs*, and give us the Penal Laws again upon the Fanatics.

*Whig.* And would that make the Foundation of the Government broader and deeper, as you talk'd just now? Besides, have you not heard a Story of one *Sampson*, Sir, who after he had resign'd his Lock of Hair in which his Strength lay, was deliver'd up to his Enemies by those he had trusted? But supposing what you propose (if granted) might win you to be *Williamites*, were *King James* dead, yet I am mistaken, if whilst he lives, and the King of *France* continues as powerful as at present, you will ever be drawn by any Courtship, to engage so far in the Interests of this Government, as to swear otherwise to the King than as *King de facto*, nor will you make your Reconciliation to *King James* desperate. Answer to this Point plainly and truly.

*Tory.* Wise Men will always secure a Retreat; and Self-preservation is a first Principle with all Men. And as a Gentleman said wittily upon this occasion, As long as the Government can maintain it self, and will maintain me, it is sure of me: But I have liv'd too long at Court to die a Martyr for any Monarch, and will always behave my self so in one Court, as to be well with the next. And tho perhaps this is not all that this Government might reasonably wish from us, yet I can tell you they do not believe

believe that they shall mend themselves, by changing us for you, for divers and sundry Reasons. *Whig.* Pray let us have some of them. *Whig.* First, because you are for a Commonwealth-Government, and Haters of Monarchy. *Whig.* That is, that we are mad Men, and void of all common Sense and Reason: for whoever hath either of these, will know a Commonwealth, a *Chymera* impracticable, and impossible to be brought about in *England*. If *Machiavel* be of any Authority, he says in his 55th Chapter upon Government, "That where there is not an Equality in the Conditions and Estates of a People, it is impossible for that People or Nation to erect and settle a Commonwealth." He gives you Examples to confirm this, but I think there are some more to our purpose, as being more recent and nearer home. Upon the Revolt of the *Low-Countries* from the *Spanish* Yoke, it was necessary for them to put themselves under some Form of Government; and the Form being in their own free Choice, seven of the seventeen Provinces, who were a Trading sort of People, much upon an Equality in their Condition and Fortune, and had few Families of Nobility or Gentry among them, fell naturally into a Commonwealth-Government: But the other ten Provinces, having great numbers of Nobility and Gentry, tho they were more immediately under the Tyranny of the *Spaniard*, and had been more particularly sensible of *D'Alva's* Cruelty and Oppression, notwithstanding chose rather to continue under the hated Government of *Spain*, than to accept of the Invitation the other seven Provinces had made them of coming into the more hated Project of a Commonwealth: so impossible it is to reconcile Men distinguished by Titles and Fortunes, to mix themselves in a common Level with the People upon any Consideration or Disgust whatsoever. And whoever will look over what passed here in *England* from the Year 1648, to the Year 1660, will be yet more convinc'd of the Truth of this Assertion, and of the Nonsense of any Commonwealth-Design in this Nation: Perhaps there was never at any time so many Men of strong Inclinations for a Commonwealth-Government as then, nor of greater Abilities to effect such a Design: And yet they found the Nobility, Gentry and Dignified Clergy such a Rub in their way, as no Art, no Force could remove: and at last they were brought into that Confusion and Disorder by

attempting it, that the very People and Army who were in this Project of a Commonwealth, and had overthrown the Monarchy in order to it, and could support *Cromwell* in a single Person, yet after his Death saw a necessity of restoring the Monarchy again, and assisted towards it. But this was the Dust which the two last Courts threw into the Peoples Eyes when they would make them blind to Arbitrary Power and Popery: And is now one great Artifice the *Jacobites* depend upon, whereby to separate the Friends of this Government from its Support; tho' it will always be a Jest to understanding Men. I have heard a Story of a Lady, who passing through a Crowd to her Coach, and having a rich Jewel on her Breast, cover'd the Jewel with one of her Hands; which a Pick-pocket in the Crowd observing, steps up to her, and claps his Hand upon a Place below, which he thought would oblige her to remove her Hand from her Breast, to defend it: But the Lady apprehending the Thief's Design, very prudently neglected the false Attack, and apply'd both her Hands to the securing her Jewel, and by that means came off safe. And so Gentlemen, whenever you make your false Attack upon our Commonwealth, we shall for the future, take it for the Signal to us, that your real Aim is at our Liberties and Properties, and shall apply both our Hands and Hearts to the securing those Jewels of inestimable Price. But to be serious, in our case the *Whigs* (as I said in the beginning of our Discourse) have given sufficient Proof how little they design'd a Commonwealth, and how hearty they were to the Monarchy, in their struggling so zealously to set the Crown on the King's Head.

*Tory.* We own you were for giving him the Name of a King: But after all, speak sincerely, Did you design to make him any more than a King of Clouts, a Duke of *Venice*, or a Stat-holder?

*Whig.* We design'd to make him as great a King as the Laws of *England* and our Ancient Constitution make any King: And if you pretend to make him more, take the Honour of it. But, Sir, upon this occasion your Party were for making his present Majesty less than either a Duke of *Venice*, or Statholder of *Holland*: For in proposing to make him a *Regent*, you make him only a Journey-man-King, a Subject to King *James*, and accountable to him: But what the *Whigs* did to deserve being suspected

of



of a Commonwealth-Design, or of any Intention to lessen the King's just Power, I am yet ignorant.

*Tory.* You are wilfully so then; for what could the meaning of the Convention be to settle the Revenue of the Crown from three Years to three Years, and to take away the Revenue of the *Chimney-Money*, one of the fairest Flowers of the Crown, but lessening the King's Power, and making his Government precarious?

*Whig.* The Chimney-Tax being grown a Grievance more sensible and more odious to the common People than any other; and the danger of being enslav'd by giving such great Revenues (for Life) to the two last Kings (by which they were enabled to maintain standing Armies, and to subsist without Parliaments) was so fresh in the Memories of all thinking English-Men, and so apprehended by them, that the King's Friends thought it greatly for his Service to take away the Burden of the one, and the Apprehension of the other from the People, and by using different Methods to those which had been follow'd in the former Reigns. To make his present Majesty's Government more acceptable to all good Men, and that He might hereby reign in the Hearts of his Subjects, and be distinguished by them: which Method, if pursued, would have given us a fairer Prospect of our Affairs, than at present I am afraid we have. But this is not the Interest of wicked Ministers, who when Kings take these Courses, lose their Dominion over them: their business is therefore to make Princes jealous of Encroachments of Parliaments, of Commonwealth-Designs amongst the People, to represent the King's Interest separate from the Interest of his Subjects; and then to ingratiate themselves with him, and raise themselves in his Opinion for their Parts and Abilities, they offer him Schemes of Politicks, to prevent Designs against him which were never thought on. Thus these *base* *Jags*'s first work a Prince up to Jealousies and Hatred of his People, by false Suggestions; and then, as a Remedy against the Mischiefs they have suppos'd, put him upon Designs ruinous to his Country and himself. But in the mean time, by appearing thus zealous for what they call the King's particular Interest and Glory, they insinuate themselves into some sort of Princes Favour, they become Confidants of all Court-Intrigues, and grow great and rich; they dispose all Offices

and crush all who are not their Creatures; and at last come to awe and govern Kings themselves. As Waiting-Women, who when they have debauched their Mistresses by their Mercehary Sollicitations, and are become the Trustees of their Frailty, they no longer taste the Bisk, nor bitter Reproofs for misplacing of a Pin or Patch; but from Servants become Mistresses; no Faults are then found with them, no Liberty denied them; even the Purse, and the rich Petticoat is absolutely at the Waiting-woman's Service, till at last they bring their Mistresses to Infamy and Beggary. And so to return to the Ministry again; By this kind of Management they make their Masters Kings of Clouts, necessitous, miserable, and despis'd Princes. For Example; What made the late King *James a King of Clouts*, but those Evil Counsellors, who put him upon Despotick and Dispensing Power, and propagating a Religion against Law? Who put him upon preferring Papists and *Irish*, to Protestants and *English*? Who advised his seizing Colleges and Charters, setting up High-Commission Courts, and making Parliaments and Laws a Nose of Wax? Deny this if you can, Mr. *Tory*. Nay, as to your Idol-King, *Charles the Second*, (who notwithstanding I believe much the worse of the two Brothers, as sinning against a better Understanding, and greater Obligations) was it not by these Counsels, and some of these Counsellors, that this Gentleman was made a *King of Clouts* too, from having all the Advantages at the time of his Restoration that ever King was blessed with? He was belov'd, delighted in, and courted by his Subjects; was respected Abroad, in Plenty and Power at Home; and could direct the Votes of a Parliament with a Nod (more than he could at last with his Exchequer); yet after all this in a few Years, by the Management of some of our present Evil Counsellors, who gave him ill Impressions of his Subjects, made him out of Love with Parliaments, and poison'd him with Lawless Power, and Love of Tricks, (the worst of Poisons to an English King) who, for their own filthy Interest, perswaded him to sell *Dunkirk*, break the *Triple League*, and enter into Measures with *France*, destructive to the Interest of this Nation, and of all *Europe*. By these Measures he at last became distasteful to his Subjects, and was forsaken by a Parliament the most attach'd to him; and in love with his Person to a Fault; so that at last his

Necessities drove him to become a Pensioner to France \*. And if you will believe Mr. Dreyden, his Post-Laureat, concluded his Reign in these miserable Circumstances, of being [despis'd Abroad, and living on Tricks at Home.] And how these Gentlemen's Father and Grandfather were made Kings of Clouts by the like Measures and the like Ministers, by endeavouring at Lawless Power, and laying aside Parliaments, &c. even the Histories of those Times publish'd by their own Authority, make it out plainly. And now, Mr. Tory, if you please we will examine a little into the few Examples we have of Princes who have practis'd a contrary Method to the before-mentioned one; we will enquire what Effects that sort of Government hath produced; and we need go no farther, I think, than Queen Elizabeth's Reign, the immediate Predecessor to the Scottish Race, to fetch a Comparison that will answer all Objections: And to give the Beauty of her Government its due Lustre, let us set it off with the Difficulties that attended it and surrounded it in the beginning. Let us consider her in the first place, — of the weaker Sex, — a Woman, — having no rightful, tho' lawful Title; — The greatest part of her Subjects of a contrary Religion to her. — The Queen of Scotland, her next Neighbour, a Pretender to the Crown. — Ireland in open Rebellion: The King of Spain, the greatest Monarch of Europe at that time, her mortal Enemy, and Invader. — Plots and Conspiracies by the Papists against her at Home. — And no Ally Abroad but the Dutch, then an Infant State, and supported by her. — And yet we see this poor, weak Woman in the midst of all these Disadvantages, Absolute and Uncontroul'd at Home, Aweful and Glorious Abroad. This indeed seems very extraordinary; Let us enquire therefore what Methods were then practis'd in order to the producing such wonderful Success. Was it by corrupting Elections, or making Pensioners of Parliament Men? — No, for her Courtiers pleaded (as well in Bar of being Parliament Men as of being Sheriffs) that they were the Queen's Servants: So that by this we may reasonably conclude there was nothing to be got by it in those days. — Was it by employing her Sister Queen Mary's Ministers, oncourting her Enemies the Papists? — No. — For she made England too hot for the one, and adorn'd almost

\* A fine Character for an English King.

\* A new Distinction our Statesmen have lately found out.

almost every Gibbet in the Nation with her Justice upon the other. — Was it by a standing Army then? — Not that neither; for she had no Army, nor no Guards, but her Gentlemen-Pensioners, and Yeomen of the Guard. I know you'll say, *How the Devil could she bring Matters about as she did, without using any of the admired Methods of our late Times?* — In good sooth, even by so homely and plain a Receipt, that you'll laugh at me when I tell it you. — Only — by loving, and courting the Love of her People, and not preferring Scotch, French, nor Irish Favourites to them (as in the late Reign) — By being just to their Rights and Liberties, and devoted to their Interests — By rewarding bountifully, and punishing severely; — By encouraging honest Men, and — browbeating State-Projectors and Tricksters, Knaves who persuade Princes, that their Interest is separate from the Interest of their People; — who counsel them to stretch Prerogative, or be over-fond of it; — who endeavour to breed unkind Thoughts in them to their best Friends and honestest Subjects. This sort of Gentlemen were out at Heels in her time. She, like a truly wise Woman, never seem'd fond of Despotick Dominion, nor of those who flatter'd her with it, and put her upon it; for she knew, that *Nobles Dominate* is the readiest way to Power in England; and that it is soonest found of those who seek it not. — She — wisely thought, that to be the *Deliverer of Europe*, a greater Character than to be *Conqueror of it*; and that it would be more truly glorious to redeem one single Town from Slavery, than to enslave the whole World. Not like some of her Successors, who (unworthy to be Sovereigns of the Noble Order the Kings of England wear) have chosen rather to be the *Dragon* than *St. George*, rather to destroy than to defend their Kingdoms. — She never took Money from her Subjects, but she gave them a Penny-worth for their Penny; and was seldom nice in according them such Favors as they thought necessary to their Safety. For being well assur'd of her own just Intentions, she never suspected theirs. And thus at last she got an absolute Power even over the Laws, — as a good Wife gets a Power over her Husband, by loving and obeying him. And now I think I have sufficiently exemplified what sort of Ministers and Methods they are which make Princes *Great and Glorious Monarchs*, and which make them *Kings of Clouds*. And whether this latter Character belongs to the



the *Whig* or *Tory*, I submit to the Judgment of every impartial and reasonable Man. But go on with your Charge.

*Tory*. It is objected against you *Whigs* also, that you do not love the King's Person.

*Whig*. What an Accusation hast thou blundered upon, thou very *Irish Tory*, thou eternal Trifler! Not love the King's Person? — 'Tis a Thought fit only for a Chamber-Maid, when the Chaplain or Valet offer their Service to her. Kings are to be lov'd by Millions of their Subjects who never set their Persons, (as Heaven is by Mankind) for their Providence and Care of their Peoples; for the Influences they dispense of their Justice and Mercy, and for the universal Good and Benefits which they scatter amongst their Subjects. And in this Point their Thoughts and Designs should be God-like; and by any other sort of Lovers than these, any King will be as tenderly accompanied in his Misfortunes, as King *James* was to *Faversham*. But besides, this Accusation is as false as it is foolish: pray, Sir, Who shew'd the most early Inclination to the Prince of *Orange's* Person, the *Whigs* or the *Tories*? Who went into *Holland* first and began the Project of the Prince of *Orange's* coming over hither, *Whigs* or *Tories*? Who put the Crown upon his Head when he did come, *Whigs* or *Tories*? But to come nearer to the Point; Did not the *Whigs* shew a most apparent Partiality to the Prince of *Orange's* Person in all the Points of the Settlement of the Crown, and particularly in giving it Him for Life, overlooking at the same time the *P.* of *D's* Title, and the *Li-*neal Succession? Did they not to a Man stand by the King's Authority in the Debate concerning the *P.* of *D's* Revenue, and leave the Disposal of that Affair entirely to the King's Pleasure? And now after four Years being us'd like the worst of Enemies for all these Services; after being shut out from speaking to the King, and almost from seeing him; after being discountenanced and frown'd upon, they have notwithstanding (like the numerous Klientant) ever shew'd a grudging to his Grace upon the least Encouragement, or Invitation; and have at the opening of every Session, for three Winters successively, still been ready to swallow the same Sweetnings, and to be coaks'd by a Clap on the Cheek, like an old City-Cuckold and Cally, and have been wrought into a Credulity, which nothing but  
their

their Fondness and Dotage on the King's Person, could have effected.

*Tory.* But you will not deny that you have sometimes express'd your selves peevishly concerning the King.

*Whig.* And what Lover that hangs or drowns himself for his Mistress, does not do the same? Railing in a Lover is an infallible Symptom that he is far gone in the Distemper: And as Women ever yet relented to when it came from that Cause. But our Court hath not deca'd to distinguish between those who are angry with them in concern for their Prosperity, and those who seem pleas'd with them in hopes that they are in the way to Destruction. And to speak plainly, Sir, the Partiality and Courtship which the King hath shew'd to you *Tories*, in spite of all your apparent Hatred of his Person, as well as your profess'd Dislike of his Title and Government; and the Aversion he hath shew'd to the *Whigs*, and Contempt of all their Advances and Addresses, hath begott'n only Reasonings in jealous and prying Men, as if there were a Bias towards the Principles of former Governments, rather than to those this Government declar'd for, and set up upon. And even the wise and well-meaning *Tories* begin once again to smother'd when you hold it so near their Noses. But, Sir, proceed.

*Tory.* You are likewise accus'd of being wedded to a Party, and by that means will reduce his Majesty to be King of a Faction only of his Subjects.

*Whig.* This will appear much otherwise, if you will please to remember who brought in the E. of N. to be Secretary of State, and many others of that Party; and how few of your Faction were displac'd by the *Whigs* when they had interest with the King. But this Charge will appear most foully true upon you, who by the basest Ingratitude and Villany fell upon undermining those who brought you into the Government the minute you were possess'd of the King's Ear. And yet you see, notwithstanding all your barbarous Treatment of us, We have always come in cheerfully to all Votes for Money, all Loans, and all other Measures to support your Credit and the Common Interest, till both are fallen so low, that the Peoples Clamours were never so loud, nor their Dissatisfactions never so great. You, like *Solomon's* Harlot, are for tearing the Government asunder, if you may not have the

Possession

Possession of it! We have shew'd on the other hand true Motherly-Tenderness, and consented rather that it should remain in your Possession entirely, than be torn in pieces betwixt us, till it appear'd to all the World what a vile Step-Mother you have been, and how you have shew'd and abus'd a Government worthy your most indulgent Tenderness and Care. And yet I am not for refusing any *Toy* that gives Proof of his sincere Repentance, and of a Love to his Country, but with all my Heart would give my share of the fatted Calf to make the returning Prodigal welcome: tho' I cannot but think it reasonable, that you should submissively seek the Government, and not the Government submissively seek you; that you should own your Sin against Heaven, and against your Country, and give Security of another course of Life for the future, and not justify your Faults, and persevere in them. If I could see amongst any of you the least Consideration for the common Good and Benefit of Mankind, and the universal Welfare of your Fellow-Creatures, to which you are bound by the Law of God, and the Law of Nature, and to which all the Heathens who were not barbarous, paid a most profound Reverence and Obedience, and prefer'd to all private Interest, to Wives, Children, Estate, nay to Life it self. If I can find any amongst you a Lover of his Country, a sincere Supporter of the Laws, Liberties and Interest of the English Nation, I am as much his Servant, tho' he be a *N*——, a *C*——, or a *R*——, as if he were a *S*——, a *R*——, a *S*——, or a *T*——. But instead of shewing any Regard to the Interest of the Nation, any Bowels for your Country, any Self-denial in point of private Interest: Have you not sold your Country, and their Birth-rights upon all occasions (like *Esau*) for a Mors of Pottage? Have not some of you put off Human Nature, Human Reason, and all common Honesty, so far, as to conspire to bring in a *French Power*, to gratify your private and personal Piques? To bring in *Papery* and *Slavery* to rule over you, because you cannot Tyrannically rule over your Fellow-Subjects? Remember what the *Presbyterians* got by being so active in restoring the two late Popish Kings, hoping to be reveng'd thereby upon the *Independents*, and other Dissenters: Were they not mingled in the same Persecution with the others, nay, more oppress'd and mark'd out for Wrath, as being more numerous

and more considerable than any other Sect? Just so must the Church and their Profelytes expect to fare from the Hands of their *Papish* Friends (whose Cause they are so zealously propagating;) they may admit them to the Honour of being the *Car's-foot*, but not a bit of the *Chestnut*. No *Whigs*, no *Fanaticks*, but will then have as fair Quarter, (at least) from King *Lewis*, as you, (for King *James* I take to be only a Cypher, and Property to your *French* Lord and Master, who when he hath finished his Work, will finish his Life too.) And do you *Jure Divino*, you truly Loyal Gentlemen, think that you will find more Favour then for being more attach'd to King *James's* Interest? No, be assured the most inveterate Enemies of King *James* will meet with as favourable a Treatment at least as you, who have professed your selves so violently enamour'd of King *James's* Person, and of the right Line. Reflect a little upon the King of *France's* Conduct at the time of the late Revolution: He knew long before the Prince of *Orange's* design of making a Descent into *England*, and could have prevented it a thousand ways; but instead of that, he writes to *Bavillon*, then his Ambassador in *England*, to know in what Condition King *James* was to oppose the Prince's Forces: He being a Foreigner, and judging only by outward Appearances, represents the Army of King *James* sufficiently powerful to resist what Force the Prince of *Orange* could bring: whereupon the *French* King believing that the *English* and *Dutch* would by this means weaken and destroy one another, and leave a fair Game for him the next Year against the Emperor and *Flanders*; and to take away all Apprehension from the *Dutch* of their needing an Army for their own Defence, and to give all Encouragement to their Design upon *England*, he draws all his Troops from the side of *Flanders*, and falls upon *Philipsburg*; which Army if he had marched towards the *Spanish* Frontiers in *Flanders*, the *Dutch* durst not have transported a Man; and the whole Design of the Descent had been at an end. From hence it is plain what Friendship the *French* King had for his dear Brother King *James*; and what you may expect from this Man of Honour and good Nature, when you have serv'd his Turn. Come, grow wise and honest, and let us not divide under this or that Ministry, under this or that Faction or Party, but let us all unite against the common Enemy; let us make the



Publick Interest, and the Support of the Government as it is established by Law, our chief and only Aim; and for all Projectors and Conspirators, whether for a *Commonwealth*, a *French Tyranny*, or any other *Tyranny*, I wish they were all hang'd on the same Tree, the first for Fools, the others for Miscreants and Villains: And thus much, and no more am I for being wedded to a Party.

*Tory.* I own you have told us a fair Tale; but nothing is proved; nothing appears undeniable, but your Venom and Enmity against the Church, and her Friends.

*Whig.* If you mean the French Story needs proving, the Disgrace of *Barillon* when he return'd to *Persaille* upon the account of mistaking and misrepresenting the English Affairs, is notorious: But besides, the Story proves it self more than a thousand Witnesses; and for the rest, I have related nothing but what every English man is knowing of. And as for what you charge me with in relation to the Church, I see little Reason for it; unless, as *St. Paul* says, you account me your Enemy because I tell you the Truth. For my part I reverence the Church of England as much as any Man: But I am not for sacrificing the Laws and Liberties of the Publick, nay, the very Nation it self, to a Foreign Conquest, for the sound of a Word. I have a due Respect for the Priesthood too, and am their *Servant*, but never can submit to be their *Slave*: I honour their Coat, but cannot be content to strip my self of mine, in respect to it. A moderate Respect is decent, and our Duty; more I take to be Superstition at least, if not Idolatry; and to worship a Wooden Priest, appears to me as bad as worshipping a Wooden God.

*Tory.* Now you are running into your usual Violence and Heat; and let me tell you as a Friend, it does you no good neither with the Church, nor Court, which latter hath a very low Opinion of those Men who express too much Warmth in what they say or do.

*Whig.* And therefore their Affairs have succeeded accordingly. Let the Nation be Judges. Whether, if Men of Warmth had been put in Office by our Ministers, the Taxes would not have been more justly and carefully collected, than they have been by those Lukewarm Managers they have employ'd; who, like the unjust Steward, when the King's Due was an hundred, bid their Neighbours write down fifty? Or, do you think the Deputy-Lieutenants of *Surrey* would have absconded last Year, when they were ordered to raise the

*Militia* upon King *James's* coming down to *Normandy*, if they had been Men of Warmth to the Government? Or, that King *James's* Friends would dare to profess their Opinions, and carry on their Designs, so publickly? That they would presume to insult the Government in every Coffee-house; nay, in the *Mall* and *Whitehall* it self? That they would dare to threaten you to your Teeth as they do, with Invasions, Descents and Rebellions, or would venture, to correspond with *France*, and go forward and backward every Day to King *James*; nay, raise Regiments of Horse and Foot under your Noses for a Rebellion, if Men of Warmth and Zeal were in the Government? But it is from hence that all these Insolencies take their Rise, that the Enemies of the Government are come from hating it, to despise it; that its Friends are discouraged to appear for it; and that those Officers and Souldiers who in King *Charles's* time would have broken the Heads of those whom they heard reflect upon the King's Person or Government, will in this Reign hear both treated very odly; not that they want an Affection to either, but out of a fear to offend by shewing themselves Men of Warmth, and Party-men, those Characters being so abominable to our Court.

*Tory.* You *Whigs* have been the occasion of all this too: for you were so irreconcilable to some Ministers of State at the Beginning of the Revolution, because they had made a few Slips in the last Reigns; or perhaps because they had hang'd some of your Friends, a Father, or Brother, or so; that you forc'd them to take in some Persons which they themselves thought not very proper for this Government: But if you will run a Man down, he will support himself at any rate; for Men are but Men: And withal I believe they hop'd that a Place would buy any Party out of their Principles, and that all who they bought into the Government, would be obliged by that Means to be for the Government.

*Whig.* This is very far fetch'd. Mr. *Tory*, tho it is not the first time I have heard it. But as to the first part of this Paragraph, the Matter of Fact is false: The *Whigs* were willing to forget all past Miscarriages, and be reconciled to any Minister that could be honest, as I shew'd you before. But these Gentlemen quickly convinc'd all the World, that they were grown so old and stiff in their former Mischiefs, that they were capable of no other Bend or Impression, but what they had taken in the last Reigns.

And

And it was plain to every Man that had Eyes, that they were no sooner in the Ministry, but they fell into their old Schemes which no honest Man could come into; and which I am afraid the Court hath not found the good Effects from, which these *Evil Counsellors* promised. It's true, by giving Places to all that were supple, and complying, you have brought in the Knaves of all Parties: But since that which brings them into the Service of the Government, is their own Interest, and not that of the Government; it will be reasonable for our Rulers to expect, that the whole Design of such Men, will be rather how to serve themselves of the Government, than how to serve it. To conclude, Sir, notwithstanding all you have said in Excuse of your Ministers and their Methods, I cannot but remain in my first Opinion, That the *Ides of easy Phlegme*, born on the *Confiner of Indifference*, as Sir Samuel Luke in *F-ch-like Rustian* describes our luke-warm Neutrals, are not fit Men to be employ'd in our Government, as the Case stands at present, but will prove as destructive to it as downright *Jacobines*.

*Tory.* All this is taking things for granted which we deny; and accusing Men of what you do not prove; and if it were so, you confess there are Knaves of your Party too.

*Whig.* The Truth of what I say in relation to your Party, is so notorious to all the World, that it would be as impertinent to go about proving it, as to prove there is a Sun; even you yourselves have confess'd, and pretended to repent of your Principles and Practices in King *James's* time, tho you are now return'd to your Vomit. And as to what you say of our having Knaves amongst us, I must confess it too true; and am as much afflicted as you can be, that any *Whig* should invade your undoubted and sole Right of being Knaves, and selling and betraying their Fellow-Subjects: But yet we hope we may claim a Distinction to be made, betwixt our Party, who not only profess, but have maintain'd to the Death, the Religion, Rights and Liberties of their Country; and yours, who in King *Charles's* and beginning of King *James's* Reign gave up all these things; and who, though you are employ'd in, and sworn to the present Government, make public Rejoicings at the Slaughter of our Armies, and Destruction of our Fleets. If the *Whigs* have the Misfortune of some Knaves professing themselves of their Party: Our Saviour himself had a *Judas* amongst his Twelve, and yet that did not at all discredit the

the Doctrine and Principles of the Apostles; nor does our having some Knaves among us, make it as reasonable and equal to adhere to your Party, that are the professed Enemies of their King and Country, as to depend on those who have generally in all Times, and on all Occasions declar'd their Affection to their Country, Love of its Laws and Religion, and have since the Revolution shew'd their Zeal for the present Establishment.

*Tory.* Just now you seem'd to agree to a Comprehension, and were for welcoming the Prodigals as you call'd them; now you are for excluding them again.

*Whig.* No, I am for receiving any *Tory*, as I told you, that seeks the Government, and becomes a true Penitent. But I would not have the Government seek them; nor would I have them entrusted in this critical time without some Marks of their Repentance and Regeneracy; and by our Earnests give them the opportunity of selling us to the French King, or King James, as I fear some of them do at this time.

*Tory.* All that's Malice and Stuff, and not reasonably to be apprehended: And I tell you once more, it is the Opinion of some wise Men, that the King cannot follow a more fatal Counsel than to confine himself to any one Party of his Subjects.

*Whig.* Then your Patrons have been advising him fatally these four Years; for they have been perswading the King to throw himself entirely into your Hands.

*Tory.* They never refus'd to receive any *Whig*, that would comply, and come under their Protection; but if the King will choose any one Party, I think we of the *Church* are the most numerous and considerable, and are fittest as such to be employ'd by him.

*Whig.* Now you are retired into your Sanctuary, the *Church*, you think you are safe, and it is indeed dangerous pursuing you: But however I'll venture it; and since you force me, I must repeat again some of those Arguments I have given you already, why you are not fit to be trusted by this Government. First, you *Tories* do not believe your selves King William's Subjects, and therefore are very unfit to be employ'd by him as his Servants. Secondly, It cools the Affections of the People, to see those employ'd in Places of highest Trust, who they have a Demonstration are not for the Government even when they are in it. And by this Method it is plain the King (according to the Fable) loses his Shoulder



of *Mutton*, by catching at the *Shadow*, and by aiming at both *Parties*, he hath neither

*Tory*. I confess I am for the King's relying on one *Party* as much as you are (tho' not yours); but however, there are great and wise Men, as I told you, of another Opinion; and I have heard it ask'd, Why this Method of uniting all *Parties* should not have as good an Effect here as in *Holland*, for there the Prince of *Orange* reconcil'd all to the common Interest?

*Whig*. I'll tell you why; First, it appears all *Parties* there sincerely intend'd the Good of the Government, which it is too plain is not your Case. Secondly, Neither *Party* had any other Head to repair to, as you *Tories* have, the Prince of *Orange*, who had no pretending Rival to the Right of Stattholder. But the King hath here a Rival, a Father-in-Law, who pretends a Right to the Crown, who is supported by the greatest Power that ever was known in *Europe*, so as to make the Event appear doubtful, even to those who are most zealous for this Government. And by this means the Friends of King *James* are encouraged to be firm to his party; rest, and Neutrals; nay, and even his fearful Enemies are frighted from acting with a Zeal against him. Is this a time then to be trying Experiments, to put our selves and Affairs into the Hands of Men bred up, and principled against the Design of this Government? Is this a time to beseech our selves to our Enemies, and to take Men out of *Plots*, and place them in our Cabinet? No sure, with my Lord, — mad's leave, this is not the time. In this time of Danger, those who have been the ancient and declared Enemies of King *James*, and who have most reason to expect being hang'd if he return, are most fit for the King to rely on. But when these Difficulties are maked, as much Comprehension as you please. In the mean time your Education in *Toryism*, your Obligations to King *James*, and, which is more than both, your present Hopes from him, will make you to averse to this Government, that no Favour, no Courtship can engage you heartily in its Interests; and it is Nonsense to expect you should fight for a Title you have always declar'd to disapprove of.

*Tory*. You are always harping upon that String. But supposing we do not approve of the making him King, yet we know how to obey Kings when they are made. But you, after you have made a King, are using him like your Creature; clipping his Power, and finding

*finding Fault with his Conduct.* For my part, if I were a King, would sooner forgive a Man that dislike'd my Title, than one who dislike'd my Conduct.

*Whig.* Why, then Mr. *Tory*, you would be none of the wisest Princes? For he who finds fault with your Conduct, may be your Friend; but he who finds fault with your Title, must be your Enemy, or else a Knave, and acts against his Conscience. But how does this Article appear, of the *Whigs* being dissatisfied with the King's Conduct in any Point, but in his employing you, and the Consequences of it? Is it from giving cheerfully whatever Sums were demanded in Parliament, is it being ready to advance Money upon the most remote Funds, in offering their Persons to the Publick Service in all times of Danger, notwithstanding all Brow-beatings, and Discouragements; by breaking all Measures with King *James* and his Party, that they discover their Dislikes, and Dissatisfactions to the King, or his Government? But if they disapprove that the Friends of King *James* should be King *William's* Ministers, that those should be plac'd in all Offices who hate him and betray him, Will he have Reason to take their Dislike of this part of his Conduct so very unkindly from them, as to forgive it less than your renouncing his Right and Title to the Crown? But you *Tories* have got a Trick of bringing Kings into your Quarrels, (as the Priests do God Almighty into theirs) and by placing them before you, hope to make your selves safe, not caring how much you expose them; and you impudently place your own Crimes unfairly upon others; and whilst you your selves are daily Libelling and Lampooning the King's Person and Conduct most maliciously, and triumphing in all his Misfortunes ingratiously, (witness the publick Insolencies at the *Bath*, and *Windsor* upon the late Defeat in *Flanders*) you, according to your wonted Modesty, charge the *Whigs* with your own Faults; and avoid being Criminals, by turning Accusers.

*Tory.* I know not what some hot-headed drunken Men may have said and done at the *Bath*, or elsewhere; but this I know, that a whole Party ought not to share the Miscarriages of some few particular Men.

*Whig.* You are in the right if that were the case; but it is undeniable, that this Insolence is universal, and even amongst those of you employ'd and paid by the Government.

*Tory.*

*Tory.* This is a fore Place I find you are ever complaining of. But why are you angry with us for being in Places? Did we seek them? Were we not sought, courted, intreated to accept of Employments? And since you provoke me, I'll tell you the Reason; the King found none of you *Whigs* capable of, or fit for Business; he saw you too of a sowre, morose Temper, jealous of Prerogative, affecting Popularity, childishly fond of Trifles, and tenacious of Lawless Liberty; whilst we are frank, and easy in all these Matters, and know the Respect that is due to Crown'd Heads.

*Whig.* That is, when they are rightfull!

*Tory.* Come, you will make no Prince have the worse Opinion of us for that: *The Right Line, Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance, Prerogative, &c.* will always sound well in every King's Ear. And when he considers us Enemies to his Title only, out of a Principle of Loyalty, he will have reason rather to accuse his own Misfortune, than our Virtue; we plainly and honestly told him our Principles, that we believ'd him a King *de facto* only; and our Honour in this Point made him rely upon our Honour in others.

*Whig.* Let us examine then how honourably, how gratefully you have behav'd your selves to a King who hath relied on you, and oblig'd you so extremely. We will pass by those who refuse to swear Allegiance to him upon the above-mentioned honourable Pretences, and only mention those who have accepted Employments of Profit and Trust. Have not even those in the Government both in *England* and *Scotland*, been plotting the Dethroning this King, who hath trusted them so generously, and courted them so kindly? Particularly, did not one of your Party at the beginning of this Government, give notice to the King's Enemies of Warrants against them, in order to their making their Escape, and was discharg'd his Employment upon it? Did not a Brother of a certain Secretary, give out Blank Passes under the Hand and Seal of that Secretary, by which a Correspondence was carried on betwixt this Place and *France* securely? And was not this Gentleman upon this Account laid aside gently and privately, and this Matter huddled up for fear of any Reflection upon our Monarchical Favourites, and put upon the Publick as Passes forg'd, (as indeed they were by our own Officers) and a lame Proclamation put out with Rewards to the Discoverer, but without a Pardon for Life, when they knew the whole Matter before-hand? Have not some Women lately

lately been taken going to *France* (with Letters to King *James*) with a Scottish Secretary's Pass, under his Hand and Seal? Was not an Officer of the Post-Office lately found corresponding with *France*, and without any other Punishment for his Capital Crime, laid aside gently and privately? The Story of Capt. *John Layton*, late Commander of the *St. Albans*, and which hath been told in the House of Commons, will shew you how faithfully you *Tories* serve the Government, and how fit you are to be trusted. Captain *Layton* being ordered to Cruise twenty Leagues off *Ushant*, by a Storm of Wind was driven to *Cape Clear*, where he met a French Privateer, and took her: the Captain of the Privateer ask'd *Layton* the Name of his Ship, which he told him; upon this the Privateer looking into his Pocket-Book, ask'd *Layton* how he came there; for by his Intelligence the Station of the *St. Albans* was to be twenty Leagues from *Ushant*, and no further. And the like Story is told of a Transport-Ship going to *France* with Prisoners, some few Months ago, who meeting with divers Privateers, ask'd them how they durst be so bold as Cruise there, when four English Men of War were within six Leagues of them? they reply'd, they knew the Station of those English, and that they could not come where they were a cruising but by breaking their Orders. But the Relation of the Sailer who was taken, and for some time serv'd aboard an Irish Privateer, is yet more remarkable, for he deposeth, That they told him (three Months before the *Streights Fleet* sail'd from *Spithead*) both the time when they were to sail, the number of their Convoy, and likewise that the Main Fleet was to go no further than beyond *Ushant*. Now how they could come by this Intelligence, but from Officers employ'd by and sworn to the Government, I know not; and if so, how faithfully and honourably you *Tories* serve Those who trust you, and how fit you are to be employ'd in this critical Time, I appeal to all the World.

*Tory.* These are malicious Stories; and if strictly enquired into, will prove false I dare say.

*Whig.* Whenever there is a Committee of indifferent Men ordered to take the Examination, I am inform'd all this will be proved, and much more; and how reasonable it is to expect this and any other Treachery from you, will appear probable to those who see you in all Offices daily and publicly drinking King *James's* Health: who see one Clerk going to a non-swearing Doctor,



to take Advice, whether he may serve the Government as a writing Clerk without Damnation to his Soul? Yes, replies the Doctor, for thereby you keep out an ill Man, and may serve your rightful King upon occasion. To see another Clerk valuing himself to his Companions, that his Place, thank God, does not oblige him to take the Oaths to the Government. To see Officers of the greatest Trust in the Admiralty in Clubs twice a Week with Mr. P——ps, Mr. Ew——rs, and other known Jacobites, and from Saturday to Monday constantly living with them Night and Day.

*Tory.* I know who you mean, one of them is a Nephew to one of the Gentlemen, and expects 4000*l.* from him; and would you have him renounce such an Expectance in Consideration of your Place?

*Whig.* No, but I would have the Government renounce such an Officer, that had such an Expectation from such an Uncle.

*Tory.* But where could you get such able Officers if these were discharged?

*Whig.* As the case stands, one honest Man will be of more Service than ten such able Men; the Forms of Business will be quickly learned; and want of Experience will be less fatal to us, than want of Fidelity. Most of the under-Places require a very indifferent Understanding, and little Experience to carry the Business on: And if you ascend to the Ministry, I cannot help thinking my Lord Sh——y, or Sir J. Tr——d as able Secretaries as the E. of N. and Mr. R——ll as able an Admiral as Mr. K. &c. What is it your able Men have done for us, pray, this four Years? Was ever any Government in so promising a Condition, as ours was at the time of the Revolution? Were we not the Hopes of all our Allies, and the Terror of our Enemies? And is not the case alter'd with us? I fear it is: To be plain, a Ministry from *Wapping* could not have made worse work on't than yours have done. Ministers who know not so much as what Money their Affairs will require, but ask the Parliament too little, and manage it so as to make it less. That want Intelligence so much, that Matters of the greatest Consequence have been publick in every Coffee-house three days before it comes to the Secretary's Office; particularly the loss of our Merchants Fleet, and beating our Army in *Flanders*: As if (as one said) Secretaries, like Cuckolds, were to know their Dishonour and Misfortunes last.

Then the Return of our Fleets for want of Provisions, laying out Money in false Expeditions, and wanting it thereby in true Necessities; imperfect Orders, from whence proceeds imperfect Execution; and besides they prove an Excuse to Officers even in the most fatal Miscarriages: with a thousand more Mismanagements and Treacheries from the top to the bottom of the Ministry, too tedious to relate here.

*Tory.* And do you think the Government would be better serv'd at this time by Novices, and Strangers to Business?

*Whig.* I have answer'd you that before; I think it would be much better serv'd by ignorant Friends, than understanding Enemies: Tho I am far (at the same time) from granting you that Point, for I am sure there are more Men of Sense and Capacity found amongst the *Whigs*, than amongst the *Tories*: and that Experience is not of such mighty Consequence as you would infer, will appear, if you will please to call to mind the Men employ'd in Publick Affairs by *Cromwel*: Was ever Government better serv'd than his? and yet he chose Men of the most private Condition, and one would have thought most unqualified for Publick Business, Taylors, Draymen, broken Shop-keepers, raw Scholars, and some few of the middling Gentry. But being careful to choose Men principled against the Government of King *Charles*, and zealous for the Interest of the Government then on foot; they did Wonders, supported their Friends, and were aweful to their Enemies; and this with all the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, both *Church of England* and *Presbyterian*, in perpetual Combinations and Conspiracies against them at home, and a War in *Ireland*, *Scotland*, *Holland*, and *Spain* too, upon their Hands. And you have an Instance of it in this Government, in the Person of one of the Secretaries of *Scotland*, who (tho bred in a very private way) hath shewed himself a most successful Statesman, and of great Consequence to the Welfare of the King's Affairs in that Country, and this meerly from his incorruptible Honesty, Zeal and Integrity to the present Government, without Experience, or great Insight into Business.

*Tory.* I must grant there is something in what you say, Union and Integrity will do great Matters: But you *Whigs* cannot pretend to this, for you are not two of you in the same Mind; you have no Government, no Discipline in your Party, no Firmness to one another, or to any Point: Your great *P.F.*—— turns Cadet,

Cadet, and carries Arms under the General of the *West-Saxons*; the two *H—s* are Engineers under the late Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and bomb any Bill, which he hath once resolv'd to reduce to Ashes, though it were for Recognition, or any thing else that is most necessary to our Security: Your *Jack S.* and *Jack G.* whenever they touch Penny, will touch Pot too, and drink all in the Bowl, be it never so deep. And besides this, you are always laughing, despising, or railing at one another; some of you are too wise, some of you too witty, and some of you too honest for the rest; jealous and envious of one anothers Favour and Preferment; every Man thinking himself fittest to be at the Head of Affairs, and hating, and reflecting upon those who are so, and despising to be govern'd or directed by them. And at the same time those who are at the Top, disdaining to look down upon those below them, tho they were the Steps by which they did ascend; they grow stately to their Friends, and unmindful of their Fortunes, impatient of Addresses, hard of Access, huddling into little Cabals, where they are wise and witty among themselves: whilst we *Tories* on the contrary, have but one Heart, one Voice, one Purse and one Interest; excuse and justify one anothers Faults, prefer the meanest Fool or Knave of our Party; and in return the Underlings are every Man in a perfect Obedience to his Superior, to vote, rail, write or talk according to Direction, and not otherwise.

*Whig.* I own there is too much Truth in what you say, and you speak Truth so seldom, that we ought to allow it you when you do: But I hope we have seen the Error of our Disunion, and shall amend it for the future; And however we may have had Personal Differences, and likewise may have been too much divided, and too obstinate in some Opinions, yet still in all Times, and under all Discouragements, we have all agreed to the same end, (*viz.*) The Publick Good of our Country, and the Support of its Laws and Liberties; and in this present Reign have been and are unanimous against King *James* and his Interest, and have at all times with one Consent own'd his present Majesty, Rightful and lawful, which I take to be the *Shibboleth*, to distinguish those who are alone fit to serve this Government. And till there be an Act of Recognition in Force, I will be bold to say all the other Steps of our ablest and honestest Statesmen, will be upon Boggy Ground: nor can any Man be reasonably employ'd  
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in any Office who hath not taken this Test; for whoever thinks King *William* not Rightful, must think King *James* is so; and the same Conscience which leads them to believe him Rightful, will incline them to assist that Right when they have opportunity: (but to return to the Point of your Charge) we must confess likewise that we have not been so much under the Government of our Superiours as you are, nor so industrious in supporting each others private and particular Interests. But to the first I might answer, That Fools and Beggars are more easily led by the Nose than Men of Sense and Estates: And as to the latter, I must put you in mind, that the Societies of *Ignatius* and of *Newgate*, are both of them as much united as you, in universal Mischief; for Roguery makes a stronger Glew and Cement, than Vertue, because there are more Men capable of the former than of the latter. And tho it were to be wish'd, that the *Whigs* were more friendly, and had more Concern for the Support of one another in all their honest Pretences; yet God forbid there should ever be such a Friendship and Partiality amongst them, as to condemn and disgrace those who gain Victories, because they are not of their Party, and to support and defend those who have lost the Ships, Trade and Honour of the Nation, because they are their Creatures. But on the other side, where it is without offence to Justice, and the Publick Interest, all Unanimity and Friendship is to be admir'd, prais'd, and pray'd for; and I hope you will find it amongst us for the future, till it becomes the Subject of your Envy, instead of being an Occasion of Reproach. To put an end to this Argument; 'Tis plain with all your Friendships, and Union, and other Politicks, you have brought the Nation, and all its Allies, to the lowest Condition both in Power and Reputation. You have almost put it out of the Skill of any Conduct to recover us; and whoever now takes the Administration of Affairs upon them, will be apply'd to the Government, like Pigeons to the Feet of dying Men. But however, to those who are true Lovers of their Country, no Time seems too late to attempt its Relief, no Difficulty so great as to discourage them from endeavouring it; and tho as the Case stands, it is more than probable, we may miscarry under the best Conduct, yet it is undeniable we must miscarry under yours. And so I take my Leave.





